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SCIENTISTS AND SHAKESPEARE

By S. Blaine Ewing

SHAKESPEARE was once a New World of criticism and scholarship. He was discovered in his own time by a little band of English explorers, of whom the chief was perhaps Ben Jonson:

> I, therefore will begin. Soule of the Age!
> The applause! delight! the wonder of our Stage![1]

Since then, he has been mapped, first in outline, then in ever increasing detail and accuracy, until one would have supposed that every territory had been opened and exploited and every resource prospected and mined. Long since occupied by the poets and critics, he later attracted to his green fields many another settler of more diverse and special interests: the astrologer and astronomer, the botanist, the lawyer, the ornithologist, the philosopher, the physician, the psychologist, and even the meteorologist and pharmacologist, to name no more. But not until 1947 did any specialist provide a geological map![2] As far as can be learned, no pure chemist has yet analyzed "this solidity and compound mass;"[3] perhaps all are repelled by the fact that Shakespeare naturally held to the only chemistry of his time, the heretical discipline of alchemy; and no physicist has yet fissioned Shakespeare's atom, although many a non-physicist has tried to find his nucleus.

If one be ambitious to read all the reports of these special students of Shakespeare, he must now be prepared to number them in the hundreds and must extend his purview beyond the journals of the humanities, to include not only popular magazines and even local newspapers,[4] but also journals of the sciences like *The Scientific Monthly* and publications of local associations like The Engineers Club of Baltimore. It is my purpose briefly to view the contents of two current essays[5] of this sort which might otherwise escape notice and to consider some of their implications.

The immediate contribution of these essays to Shakespeare scholarship is unassuming indeed. Professor Willard collects the

passages in poems and plays which are of interest to the student of three divisions of his subject, mineralogy, lithology, and physiography, and makes passing reference to three others, meteorology, seismology, and volcanology. Since the deeper reaches of the science are never involved and the technical terms are immediately understandable to the reader, Willard gives no definitions. And since most of the references are incidental to the more pressing business of the play—its action, characters, scenes, or thought—he cuts them as clean from their context as fossils to be put in a museum showcase. As a result much of the collection is reduced to lists of phrases, or even to lists of line-numbers. Only occasionally is the finding long enough to allow continuous quotation; as, under "Mineralogy," the description of precious stones in *A Lover's Complaint,* 211-217; and, under "Physiography," Edgar's description of the Cliffs of Dover.[6]

Mr. King's article is quite different in purpose. Originally delivered as an address before the Maryland Academy of Sciences, it makes no pretense of being an original contribution to learning. It is rather a hasty survey of the stage of development which science had reached in the time of Shakespeare in the subjects of astronomy, medicine, mathematics, alchemy, and others, with apt illustrations from Shakespeare where possible; such as Lorenzo's beautiful reference to the music of the spheres in *The Merchant of Venice* (5.1.58-65). None of the material presented would be novel to the informed student of the English Renaissance,[7] but might well be so to a general audience of practicing engineers, for whom it was primarily designed. King indulges in some bardolatry,[8] but, by and large, he gives his reader correct orientation in the intellectual climate of the Renaissance, never ascribing to Shakespeare an interest in science which actually is the interest that a modern scientifically trained reader, wise after the fact, may find in the plays and poems:

> "The everyday life of Shakespeare and ninety-nine out of a hundred of his contemporaries ran its course without benefit of science. They lived and loved and fought and died knowing and caring nothing for the work of the few true scientists who were planting and cultivating the tree of scientific knowledge. . . "[9]

There are a few errors in both essays, which are due to inadequate knowledge of the available maps of the World of Shakespeare, and which may be illustrated by means of one example from each. Willard would never have felt that the phrase "to do me business in the veins o' the' earth"[10] "was slightly ambiguous"[11] if he were in-

formed in the common Renaissance demonology which assigned each supernatural being to his proper "element"—fire, air, water, earth, even hell or mineral under the earth[12]—just as it did each natural being to his element. Ariel, a spirit of air, was able under Prospero's enchantment to act in all elements:

> "All hail, great master! grave sir, hail! I come
> To answer thy best pleasure; be't to fly,
> To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
> On the curl'd clouds: to thy strong bidding task
> Ariel and all his quality."[13]

Naturally, therefore, he can do Prospero's bidding in the veins of the earth. And King would never have implied that Renaissance books of science written in Latin were necessarily closed to Shakespeare because of his "small Latine and less Greeke"[14] if he were familiar with T. W. Baldwin's recent monumental study[15] of Shakespeare's schooling; in which Ben Jonson's phrase is demonstrated to mean that Shakespeare possessed the Latin reading ability of the Elizabethan grammar school student (a high proficiency, by modern standards) as distinguished from the scholar's special ability which Jonson himself enjoyed.

Yet the contribution of these papers is not wholly to be disparaged. Their significance, though modest, is a general one, and may best be viewed against the background of general tendencies in modern thought.

First, Willard's article, (if not King's) is to be welcomed because of its freshness. It is true that Cumberland Clark, in *Shakespeare and Science*[16] has treated earthquakes and the ocean with somewhat greater inclusiveness and interest, and one reviewer of Clark's book made a curious anticipation[17] of two of Willard's geological quotations, but there is no other repetition. This novelty is a pleasant contrast to the dreary multiplication in some other areas of the study of Shakespeare's knowledge, such as medicine.[18] Perhaps to find "Nilus' slime"[19] plucked out of Antony's oath of submission to Cleopatra and disenchanted to a place among "unconsolidated sediments and soils"[20] may prove too fresh for some tastes; yet this is nothing in a day when scholarship unbends so far as to make capital and good fun out of flyspecks[21] and crushed roaches.[22]

Second, they are indicators that scientists in general, as well as their leaders in thought, may be feeling greater interest in the human-

ities, searching perhaps for nuggets of old truth which were cast aside during the era when science thought it had a bright new process to smelter from easier veins all the truth that mattered. If so more scientists may become part of that collective enterprise which aims at breaking down artificial barriers between subjects, periods, nationalities, or languages, to render the study of any phenomenon—literary, historical, scientific—as broad as were the forces which went to produce it, and which is called the History of Ideas. "All historians" says A. O. Lovejoy, "seek in some sense and to some degree to discern causal relations between events. . . . In so far as the endeavor to trace such relations stops at the boundaries of one or another of these divisions, there is always a high probability that some of the most significant . . . relations will be missed. It has even sometimes happened that a conception of major historic influence and importance has long gone unrecognized, because its various manifestations . . . are so widely dispersed among different fields of historical study, that no specialist in any one of these fields became distinctly aware of it at all."[23]

The contribution which these articles make to such a purpose is real, if largely negative. King, reading his Shakespeare from the point of view of an experienced engineer, says with clarity, and a hint of personal disappointment, that he does *not* find a knowledge of science in Shakespeare:

> "We cannot expect Shakespeare to tell us directly of science, but he will tell us very clearly by indirection of the lack of science, as we understand it, in the life around him and also about some of the things the average man of his day would have thought of as science."[24]

Willard, reading as a geologist, also frank and a little disconcerted, remarks on the barrenness of the very hills he has chosen to dig: "volcanism is given short shrift;" "Of nonprecious minerals, the list is only fairly impressive;" "Shakespeare's list of metals is astonishingly brief;" "Plains and mountains are given scant treatment;"[25] but expresses a pleasure which the reader shares when he hits pay dirt: for example, "those magnificent six lines from *Henry IV,* Part II (3.1.46-51), on the wasting away of the land, the interchange of land and sea."[26] He makes emphatic note of the surprising absence of tin:

> "Surely, the Cornish mines should have been known to Shakespeare, and, with such alloys as brass and bronze in daily use, it is odd to find tin omitted."[27]

One is quick to admit that he does not know what significance, minor or far-reaching, the absence of tin may have in the future study of Shakespeare, but he would be bold indeed who asserted that it can have no significance.

To be reassured that such a purpose is interesting and rewarding, one need only turn to typical recent examples of the study of Shakespeare's "scientific" ideas and of the application of the history of ideas to the poet. Marjorie Nicolson applies the findings of A. O. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being* to the "council scenes" in *Troilus and Cressida* to reveal that the speech of Ulysses,[28] once the subject of controversy, is merely the accepted, conservative doctrine of the Renaissance on the order of the universe, a doctrine perhaps "new to us, but old to Shakespeare."[29] G. W. Knight, by studying what the scientists might label Shakespeare's meteorology, reveals that storms are used in the plays with what the author considers a consistent symbolism to represent "the tempestuousness at the heart of existence."[30] W. C. Curry, by study of the pseudo-science of theurgy, or white magic, not only illuminates the meaning of *The Tempest* but reveals Shakespeare's responsiveness to the intellectual currents of his time, in that, while *Macbeth* is mediaevil, scholastic, and Christian, *The Tempest* is Renaissance, Neoplatonic, and pagan.[31] Moreover, that much scientific and pseudo-scientific information which may seem bookish to the twentieth century reader was common and current in the mind of the Elizabethan man of ordinary education is more than suggested by several recent studies of Renaissance learning: Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass,* [32] Alfred Harbage's *Shakespeare's Audience,*[33] Francis R. Johnson's *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England,*[34] and Louis B. Wright's *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England.*[35]

Shakespeare, then, is a world into the creation of which went little of the mineral which we call science. Is the further prospecting so meagre a vein worth the doing? If the scientist means only to indulge his own pleasure—to add another to the library of books properly titled "What Shakespeare Means to Me"[36]—only he can answer the question. But the student of the Renaissance is most likely to answer his question with a "yes," if the scientist offers himself in such a way that he can be most fully utilized; namely, by making a closer

alliance with the party which has already for so long been in the field and by contributing his own special training and ability to the *joint* effort. Among its equipment he will find many fine charts, to save him from needlessly scouting the cliffs prospected many times before and from hunting for deposits that the hills are too young to bear. In the party he will find assay agents to give him authoritative judgment on the value of his findings, and even refineries to purify his metal—well, at least to cleanse it of some of its dross!—before it is put on the open market. Only then, perhaps, will he be able to say with Theseus (though still out of context):

> "Where I have come, great clerks have purposed
> To greet me with premeditated welcomes."[37]

[1]*The Shakespeare Allusion-Book,* edited by Sir Edmund Chambers, (Oxford, 1932) I, 309.

[2]Bradford Willard "The Geology of Shakespeare," *The Scientific Monthly,* LXV, No. 5 (November 1947), 399-404.

[3]*Hamlet,* 3.4.49. References to Shakespeare are to the edition by W. J. Craig and Edward Dowden, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1925-27).

[4]See P. S. Clarkson and C. T. Warren "A Comparative and Critical Analysis of Shakespeare's Law," *Daily Record* (Baltimore), April 20, 1937, p. 3. Referred to by Hazelton Spencer *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare,* (N. Y., 1940), p. 437.

[5]Willard, *op. cit.;* and Thomson King "The Science of Shakespeare's Time," *The Baltimore Engineer,* XXI, No. 8 (February 1947).

[6]*King Lear* 4.6.11-23.

[7]For the science, he might turn to Lynn Thorndike *A History of Magic and Experimental Science,* Vols. V and VI: The Sixteenth Century, (N. Y., 1941); for astrology, Don Cameron Allen *The Star-Crossed Renaissance,* (Durham, N. C., 1941): for astronomy, Francis R. Johnson *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England,* (Baltimore, 1937); for medicine, see below, note 18; for alchemy, Robert Steele, "Alchemy," *Shakespeare's England,* Oxford, 1916, I, 462-474.

[8]"He was the supreme artist in the use of words. His powers of observation were phenomenal. His knowledge and portrayal of human nature have left a record for all time of what he saw and thought. . ." *Op. cit.* p. 2

[9]*Op. cit.,* p. 3. See, to same effect, Willard's statement "That (Shakespeare) could not possibly have had any knowledge of geology as we today understand it is axiomatic." *Op. cit.,* p. 339.

[10]*The Tempest* 1.2.255.

[11]Willard, *op. cit.,* p. 401.

[12]See, e.g., Samuel Johnson's note, in the Variorum *Tempest,* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 57. See especially W. C. Curry's excellent study, "Sacerdotal Science in Shakespeare's *The Tempest,*" *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen,* CLXVIII (1935), 25-36, 185-196.

[13]*The Tempest* 1.2.189-193.

[14]King, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

[15]*William Shakespeare's 'Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,'* (Urbana, Ill.)

[16](Birmingham, England, 1929), pp. 189-191, 199-212.

[17]*Times Literary Supplement* (London) February 13, 1930, p. 121.

[18]Including books (not articles) which contain discussions of Shakespeare's medicine, one notes the following titles, here arranged in chronological order: J. C. Bucknill *The Medical Knowledge of Shakespeare,* (London 1860). Robert Cartwright *The Footsteps of Shakespeare,* (London 1862). H. Aubert *Shakespeare als Mediziner,* (Rostock, 1873). J. A. Morgan *Shakespeare in Fact and Criticism,* (N. Y. 1888). John Moyes *Medicine and Kindred Arts in the Plays of Shakespeare,* (Glasgow, 1896). W. Kühne *Venus, Amor, und Bacchus in Shakespeares Dramen. Eine Medizinisch-Poetische Studie,* (Braunschweig, 1902). J. W. Wainwright *The Medical and Surgical Knowledge of William Shakespeare,* (N.Y. 1915). A. H. G. Doran "Medicine," *Shakespeare's England,* Oxford 1916, I, 413-443. Sir D'Arcy Power *The Place of the Tudor Surgeons in English Literature,* (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, 1927). H. B. Epstein *William Shakespeare, M. D.,* (Newark, N. J., 1932). André Adnès *Shakespeare et la Folie. Etude Médico-Psychologique,* (Paris, 1936). Wolfgang Clemen "Das Krankheitssymbol bei Shakespeare," *Shakespeares Bilder,* (Bonn, 1936). H. Pomeranz *Medicine in the Shakespearian Plays and Dickens' Doctors,* (N. Y. 1936). B. T. Stewart *The Renaissance Interpretation of Dreams and Their Use in Elizabethan Drama. Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations, Northwestern University,* X (1942) 33-36. J. W. Draper *The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters,* (Durham, N. C., 1945). P. H. Duffy *The Theory and Practice of Medicine in Elizabethan England as Illustrated by Certain Dramatic Texts, Harvard University Summaries of Theses, 1942,* pp. 268-271, (Cambridge, Mass., 1946).

[19]*Antony and Cleopatra* 1.3.69.

[20]Willard, *op. cit.,* p. 402.

[21]R. M. Smith "Fly-Specks and Folios," *The Colophon,* New Series, Vol. I, No. I, pp. 25-32.

[22]Alfred Harbage *Shakespeare's Audience,* (N. Y., 1941), p. 145.

[23]"Reflections on the History of Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* I (1940), 4. For typical points of view critical in varying degrees of the history of ideas, see L. C. Knight's "Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Climate," *Scrutiny* XII (1944) 146-152; B. T. Spencer "Shakespeare, with and without Tears," *Sewanee Review,* 50 (1942) 545-556; Leo Spitzer "History of Ideas versus Reading of Poetry," *Southern Review,* VI (1941) 584-609; Mark Van Doren *Shakespeare,* (N. Y., 1939).

[24]*Op. cit.,* p. 3.

[25]*Op. cit.,* pp. 400-402.

[26]*Ibid.,* p. 403.

[27]*Ibid.,* p. 401.

[28]*Troilus and Cressida* 1.3.74 ff.

[29]"The History of Literature and the History of Thought," *English Institute Annual, 1939,* (N. Y., 1940), pp. 73-74.

[30]*The Shakespearian Tempest,* (Oxford, 1932), p. 16.

[31]*Op. cit.* See note 12, above. See also Marjorie Nicholson's distinguished series of articles on the effect of the telescope and microscope on the imagination of the seventeenth century and after: *The Microscope and English Imagination* Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. XVI, No. 4, (Northampton, Mass., 1935). "Milton and the Telescope," *ELH* II (1935) 1-32. "The 'New Astronomy' and English Literary Imagination," *Studies in Philology,* XXXII (1935), 428-462. "The Telescope and Imagination," *Modern Philology* XXXII (1935), 233-260. *A World in the Moon* Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. XVII, No. 2. (Northampton, Mass., 1936).

[32](N. Y., 1936).

[33](N. Y., 1941).

[34]See note 7, above.

[35](Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935).

[36]Cf. Hazleton Spencer, *op. cit.,* p. viii.

[37]*A Midsummer-Night's Dream,* 5.1.93-94.

THE ROARING BOY AGAIN

By William Peery

(Part I)

MR. Burton Milligan has recently attempted to correct what he considered "certain misconceptions . . . which need correction"[1] about "The Roaring Boy in Tudor and Stuart Literature." Two such misconceptions were alleged: a belief that roaring boys "flourished only in Shakspere's England"[2] and an assumption "that thievery and the pretended character of a gentleman are as definitely typical of the roaring boys as roistering, bullying, and vandalism."[3] The body of Milligan's article is devoted to an attempt "not only to present evidence corrective of the misconceptions" alleged "but also to establish from literary and historical sources the conventionalized description and characteristic behavior of roaring boys."[4] I reopen the subject to examine Milligan's evidence more closely, to question whether his alleged misconceptions are misconceptions, and to add to his evidence certain roaring boys of such importance that they can not well be omitted from a study of the roaring boy in Tudor and Stuart Literature.

Let us consider the first alleged misconception, that roaring boys flourished only in Shakspere's England. If our results are to be valid, it is necessary to distinguish at the outset between *roaring boys* as a specialized term, as does the *Oxford English Dictionary,*[5] and the practice of *roaring,* or boisterous nocturnal rioting generally. Milligan bases his claim that the first alleged misconception exists, on the *O. E. D.* definition of *roaring boys:* "riotous fellows of the time of Elizabeth and James I."[6] "But," he adds,

> very little investigation is needed to show that they were numerous much earlier and much later than the designated period, as well as during it. Both literary and historical evidence shows that they were a familiar type from the early sixteenth century to the late seventeenth century.[7]

To place *roaring boys* in the time of Elizabeth and James is not to say that no use of this term in earlier or later times can be found. Indeed, one of the examples given by the *O. E. D.* but not mentioned by Milligan, is dated 1659,[8] indicating that its editors did not make the mistake of supposing that all roaring boys were instantly silenced at the accession of Charles I.

The chief obstacle to our getting at relative truth amid the references Milligan collects is his failure to make the distinction mentioned above. His "literary and historical evidence" includes references both to roaring boys proper and so termed, and to other varieties of rioters and roisterers. The latter references should, I submit, be excluded from present consideration since, human nature being what it is, we may agree that rioters and roisterers have been among us for a very long time. Milligan mentions in footnote[9] that a certain Elmer de Multone was indicted as a "rorere" as early as 1311. Is seems fair to assume that Milligan knew, too, not only of the bands of seventeenth-century rioters discussed in an article to which he refers[10] but also of Greek and Roman predecessors of the English Tityretus.[11] I question whether the editors of the *O. E. D.* may rightly be charged with having any misconception of the term under discussion. To call roaring boys "riotous fellows of the time of Elizabeth and James I" is somewhat short of saying that men have not prowled the streets, bullied other men, drunk excessively, fought one another, and broken windows before and after the reigns of Elizabeth and James. The editors of the *O. E. D.* in their examples show familiarity with these time-honored practices of roarers. The verb *roar,* which they define in this sense as "to revel boisterously; to behave in a noisy, riotous manner"[12]; the noun *roarer,* "A noisy, riotous bully or reveller; a wild roisterer"[13]; the gerund *roaring,* "Bullying, boisterous, or riotous conduct"[14]; and the participle *roaring,* "Behaving or living in a noisy, riotous manner"[15]—were used in these special senses far on either side the limits 1558-1625.[16] It seems manifestly unfair, in the light of these definitions, to charge the editors of the *O. E. D.* with making the assumption that rioting and bullying "flourished only in Shakspere's England"; yet such is the effect of admitting as evidence, as Milligan does, any references which are not clearly to *roaring boys* proper. Particularly to be excluded as evidence is all of Milligan's "historical" material.[17] The "strange outrages . . . breaking of windows, &c.," including a riot with the watch, staged by "some young gentlemen of the Temple" in 1681/2, described by Luttrell;

the window-breaking of Surrey and the son of Wyatt; and the brawl at Epson involving Etherege and Rochester—all resemble the behavior of roaring boys in important particulars, but no contemporary account with which I am acquainted calls these men either roaring boys or roarers. I see little resemblance between the typical behavior of roaring boys and the fight at Deptford in which Marlowe was killed or the Jonson-Spencer duel. The inclusion of such material suggests that perhaps all of the evidence presented by Milligan needs to be reexamined before one may conclude that any misconception is prevalent as to the time at which roaring boys flourished.

The passage which Milligan cites[18] from Barclay's *The Ship of Fools* (1509), from a chapter titled "Of nyght watchers and beters of the stretes playnge by nyght on instrumentes and vsynge lyke Folyes whan tyme is to rest,"[19] describes "Some other Folys" whose behavior is comparable to but not closely parallel to that of roaring boys. Barclay does not use the term *roaring boy* or even the specialized senses of *roar, roaring,* or *roarer.* The passage is not, therefore, an instance of pre-Elizabethan roaring boys in a strict sense. This is the only evidence from pre-Elizabethan literature cited by Milligan. Thus he has not established that roaring boys "were numerous much earlier" than the time of Elizabeth; and the social status of Barclay's "Folys" and Milligan's comment that Barclay "does not, certainly, imply that they are either thieves or professional criminals,"[20] are seen to be irrelevant.

Turning to evidence from literature later than 1625, one finds again that the passages quoted describe rioters in general, not *roaring boys.* Milligan twice quotes[21] from *The Nicker Nicked* (1669),[22] which is concerned, as is indicated by its subtitle, "the Cheats of Gaming discovered," with gamblers, not roaring boys. One quotation alleges that Restoration gamblers were quarrelsome at ordinaries, as roaring boys certainly were.[23] The other objects to the gamblers' unprovoked blasphemy, which also is to be charged against roaring boys.[24] But in neither passage is anyone called a roaring boy or even a roarer. Similarly, the passages from *The Character of a Town-Gallant* (1675) and "The Town Bully's Bravery" (*ca.* 1690),[25] not applying to the roaring boy proper, are not to be admitted as evidence as to his time or character. One may expect to find the more general terms, *roar* and *roarer,* in some of the later quotations since, as one may see from the *O. E. D.* examples, these terms had currency longer than

roaring boy. The speech of Captain Hackum in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688),[26] therefore, though it includes the words "roared like thunder," does not, I submit, conclusively make Hackum a roaring boy. He is described in the dramatis personae as "A Block-headed Bully of *Alsatia,*"[27] and the play was originally to have been titled *The Alsatia Bully.*[28] Shadwell does not call Hackum a roaring boy as he would likely have done had the term been still in vogue and applicable to Hackum. Though Ramble and Scuffle in Massinger's *The City Madam* (1632) are called by Shave'em "swaggering,[29] suburbian roarers,"[30] in the dramatis personae they are called "hectors."[31] Have-at-all and Slicer in Cartwright's *The Ordinary* (1634) may not properly be called roaring boys—neither that term nor *roar, roarer,* or *roaring* is used of them in the text. Have-at-all, moreover, whom Milligan takes as a type of sharper,[32] is primarily a cowardly gamester whom Slicer assists in "fleshing."[33] Except for quotations from the ballad, "The cheating Age," from Martin Parker's *The Libertine's Conversion,* and from *The Wandering Jew Telling Fortunes to Englishmen,* this is all the evidence cited by Milligan for the flourishing of roaring boys after the time of James I.[34] The first-named work, which Milligan dates "*c.* 1626,"[35] was printed, according to Hyder E. Rollins, "before 1626,"[36] perhaps a year or two earlier.[37] The second, which Milligan dates "*c.* 1628,"[38] I think can not be dated exactly and—like "The cheating Age," *The City Madam,* and *The Ordinary* —is not to be dated far enough after 1625 as to be of weight in the question of when roaring boys flourished. The third was, it is true, printed some years after 1625; but it is said to have been "*Written much earlier*"[39] than 1649, Milligan's date for it.[40] Indeed, it has been called largely a reproduction[41] of and an adaptation[42] of a Jacobean work, W. M.'s *The Man in the Moone* (1609).

The University of Texas

(To be concluded in the April issue)

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[1]"The Roaring Boy in Tudor and Stuart Literature," *SAB,* XV (1940), 184.

[2]*Ibid.* [3]*Ibid.* [4]*Ibid.*, p. 185.

[5]*s. v.* boy, *sb.*[1] 6 and *s.* roaring, *ppl. a.* 2.

[6]*s. v.* boy, *sb.*[1] 6. [7]*Op. cit.*, p. 184.

[8]"In hope to get such roaring boys as he," *Leg. Capt. Jones* (Halliw.).

[9]*Op. cit.*, p. 190, n. 3.

[10]T. S. Graves, "Some Pre-Mohock Clansmen," *SP,* XX (1923), 395-421. It seems surprising that Milligan, who by *roaring boys* means nocturnal rioters rather generally, does not include in his survey a discussion of the Tityretus and Bugle-blues.

[11]A fair assumption since the article by W. B. McDaniel, "Some Greek, Roman and English Tityretus," *American Journal of Philology,* XXXV (1914), 52-66, is cited by Graves.

[12]*s. v., v.* 1 b. [13]*s. v.,* 1 b. [14]*s. v., vbl. sb.* 2. [15]*s. v., ppl. a.* 2.

[16]The examples range from Wycliff to Scott: Wycliff, *Ecclesiasticus,* LI: 4: "And thou hast delyuered me . . . fro roreris" [*The Holy Bible. . .by John Wycliffe and His Followers,* ed. Forshall and Madden (4 vols.; Oxford, 1850), III, 221]; Walter Scott, *Woodstock:* "These were the 'roaring boys' who met in hedge alehouses" [(Boston, 1923), II, 39-40].

[17]*Op. cit.,* p. 189. [18]*Op. cit.,* p. 185.

[19]Ed. T. H. Jamieson (2 vols.; Edinburgh, 1874), I, 296.

[20]*Op. cit.,* p. 185. [21]*Op. cit.,* pp. 185 and 187.

[22]The third edition of this pamphlet is reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany* (8 vols.; London, 1744-1746), II, 96-98—not, as Milligan twice says [p. 190, nn. 5 and 11], in Vol. VII. He may have been using the Park edition but does not so specify.

[23]The passage is inexactly quoted. Silently omitting *who* between *one* and *has,* Milligan supplies a new subject, *he,* which he brackets. I find nothing in *The Nicker Nicked* to justify the statement that "the writer emphasizes the good humor of the gallants on their arrival at the ordinary" [Milligan, *op. cit.,* p. 185].

[24]"Damn me"—a favorite oath of roaring boys, who were sometimes called Damnmes [Cf. *Dodsley*[4], XI, 138, 139, 140]—begins the roaring boys' scene in Nathan Field's *Amends for Ladies* (1618), which will be discussed below.

[25]Milligan, *op. cit.,* pp. 186 and 188. [26]*Ibid.,* p. 190, n. 7.

[27]*The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell,* ed. Montague Summers (5 vols.; London, 1927), IV, 207.

[28]*Ibid.,* p. 197.

[29]This word is almost synonymous with *roaring.* To swagger, according to the *O. E. D.* [*s. v., v.* 1], is "To behave with an air of superiority, in a blustering, insolent, or defiant manner," and, specifically, "To talk blusteringly; to hector. . ." [16]. "There comes no swaggerers here," the Hostess tells Falstaff, who replies that Pistol is "no swagg'rer, hostess—a tame cheater, i'faith" [*2 Hen. IV,* 2.4.88 and 105f.; ed. G. L. Kittredge (Boston, 1936)]. *Swaggerers* is used as a synonym for *roaring boys* in reference to a band of rioters also called *rambling boys* in Field's *Amends for Ladies* [*Dodsley*[4], XI, 125 and 126].

[30]*The Plays of Philip Massinger,* ed. W. Gifford (4 vols.; London, 1813), IV, 52.

[31]*Ibid.,* p. 4. [32]*Op. cit.,* p. 188.

[33]*Dodsley*[3], X, 192-198. Cf. what Welltried does for Feesimple in *Amends for Ladies* 3.4, discussed later.

[34]Other references to roaring boys after 1625 might have been found, though from their nature one can not be sure that the groups were still in existence and under the same name. Roarers and roaring are mentioned by Dekker in *Londons Tempe* (1629) [*Dramatic Works,* ed. R. H. Shepherd (4 vols.; London, 1873), IV, 124]; by Shirley in *The Ball* (1632) [*The Plays and Poems of George Chapman,* ed. T. M. Parrott (2 vols.; New York, 1910-1914) II, 584]; and in *The Gamester* (1633) [*The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley,* ed. Alexander Dyce (6 vols.; London, 1833], III, 199]. In John Kirke's *The Seven Champions of Christendome* (1635), Suckabus the clown complains that his master George leads him "into more quarrels and dangers than all the roaring Davids in the world" [*11.* 1929f., ed. Giles E. Dawson, *Western Reserve University Bulletin,* n.s. Vol. XXXII, No. 16 (1929)]. Later he calls the champions "seven roaring boyes, That made such a damnable thunder through the world" [*11.* 2606f.]. Milligan mentions none of these works.

[35]*Op. cit.,* p. 187. [36]*A Pepysian Garland* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 244.

[37]*Ibid.,* pp. 234, 239. [38]*Op. cit.,* p. 186.

[39]Richard Aldington, *A Book of 'Characters'* (London, undated), p. 382.

[40]He presumably followed Aldington, who may have obtained his date from the *CHEL,* IV, 391. *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* [ed. F. W. Bateson (4 vols.; New York, 1941), I, 724] and Pollard and Redgrave, however, date *The Wandering Jew* 1640 [*Short-Title Catalogue* no. 11512, p. 253]. It is available to me, as presumably to Milligan, only in Aldington.

[41]*CHEL,* IV, 391. [42]*CBEL,* I, 724.

SHAKSPERE, GUILPIN, and ESSEX

By Edward S. Le Comte

Gower's interesting description in *Henry the Fifth* (III, vi, 72-88) of braggart camp followers contains a reference that seems to stand in need of explanation.

> Why, 'tis a gull, a fool, a rogue, that now and then goes to the wars to grace himself at his return into London under the form of a soldier. And such fellows are perfect in the great commanders' names, and they will learn you by rote where services were done; at such and such a sconce, at such a breach, at such a convoy; who came off bravely, who was shot, who disgraced, what terms the enemy stood on; and this they con perfectly in the phrase of war, which they trick up with new-tuned oaths: and what a beard of the general's cut and a horrid suit of the camp will do among foaming bottles and ale-washed wits, is wonderful to be thought on. But you must learn to know such slanders of the age, or else you may be marvellously mistook.

What is meant by "a beard of the general's cut"? Do generals have distinctive beards?

One general had, and was copied. This of course is the play notable for its open allusion (in the Chorus to Act V) to "the general of our gracious empress," Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. After the Cadiz expedition of 1596 Essex took to wearing a full beard: it got a certain fame as "the Cadiz beard," and set a fashion.[1] E. Guilpin satirised it in *Skialetheia* (1598). An engraving of Essex in 1600 shows this beard very amply.[2]

The first of Guilpin's references is simply "his face,/ Furr'd with *Cads*-beard."[3] But the other two are of considerable interest.

I know some of their humorous neere of kin,
Which scorne to speake to one which hath not bin
In one of these last voyages: or to one
Which having bin there yet (though he have none)
Hath not a *Cades*-beard:[4]

There comes one in a muffler of Cadz-beard,
Frowning as he would make the world afeard,
With him a troupe all in gold-dawbed sutes,
Looking like *Talbots, Percies, Montacutes,*
As if their very countenance would sweare,
The Spanyard should conclude a peace for feare:[5]

The passages from the satirist and the satirising dramatist are parallel. Shakspere and Guilpin seem to be referring to the same phenomenon—not only to the same beard but to the same "slanders of the age."

Guilpin, however, unfriendly to mimickers of Essex, is also hostile to Essex himself, as witness the following:

For when great *Faelix* passing through the street,
Vayleth his cap to each one he doth meet,
And when no broome-man that will pray for him,
Shall have lesse truage than his bonnets brim,
Who would not thinke him perfect curtesie?
Or the honny-suckle of humilitie?
The devill he is as soone: he is the devill,
Brightly accoustred to bemist his evill:
Like a Swartrutters hose his puffe thoughts swell,
With yeastie ambition: *Signior Machiavell*
Taught him this mumming trick, with curtesie
T'entrench himselfe in popularitie,
And for a writhen face, and bodies move,
Be Barricadode in the peoples love.[6]

G. B. Harrison[7] has noted this as an obvious reference to the crowd-courting Earl and caught the echo in it of the lines about Bolingbroke in *Richard the Second* (I, iv, 23-36). It remains to show that the appellation "Fælix" (or "Felix") is not accidental. We must recall Spenser's similar pun on "Devereux" in *Prothalamion,*[8]

Joy have thou of thy noble victorie,
And endlesse happinesse of thine owne name
That promiseth the same:

where, as R. E. Neil Dodge observes, "Devereux" is taken as equivalent to "*devenir heureux* or simply *heureux.*"

Anyone bent on supporting the theory which identifies Hamlet with Essex could cite the line, "Absent thee from *felicity* awhile" and say that Shakspere was the third poet to pun felicitously on the name!

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[1]G. B. Harrison, *The Life and Death of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex* (New York, 1937), p. 130.

[2]Reproduced in Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[3]B3v (Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, 1931).

[4]D.

[5]D5v. This and the following quotation do not appear in the Ingleby-Smith-Furnivall-Munro *Shakspere Allusion-Book* (London, 1932).

[6]"Satyra prima," C3v.

[7]*Skialetheia,* Introduction, vii-viii.

[8]*Complete Poetical Works,* ed. R. E. Neil Dodge, (Boston, 1908), pp. 152-154.

ANOTHER MEDIEVAL PARALLEL TO THE JESSICA AND LORENZO STORY

By James L. Wilson

SOME years ago Mrs. Alice D. Brown pointed out that the theme of a Jewish maiden with a Christian lover (or seducer) was common in the *exempla* of the Middle Ages.[1] In none of the *exempla* cited by Mrs. Brown, however, does the Jewish girl desert her father and elope with her lover.

The Latin *exemplum* which Mrs. Brown prints[2] is the story of a Christian steward who betrays his Jewish master's trust by seducing the daughter. The girl warns her lover that her father can call up devils who will reveal all, and advises him to rob the treasury and flee. He does so, but soon confesses his sin and is assigned a penance. When the Jewish father calls up his devils one by one, the third to be called tells him that they have power over only three classes of people: "Jews, Saracens, and false Christians." Since the thief has confessed to a priest, they are powerless even to reveal his name or whereabouts. The Jew is so much impressed that he has himself and all his household baptized. Although the characters are, as Mrs. Brown says, prototypes of Jessica and Lorenzo, the story is not a parallel.

The story which aroused my interest is somewhat different. It is the story of Floripas in the medieval romance, *The Sultan of Babylon*.[3] Floripas is not a Jewess, to be sure, but she is non-Christian, and she deceives and deserts her father with much less motive than Jessica had.

In this romance Roland and Oliver, captured by the Saracens, are condemned to death by Laban, Sultan of Babylon. Floripas persuades her father to keep them as hostages for her brother Ferumbras, who has been captured—and converted—by the French. The Sultan respects her judgment and follows her advice.

Saving the lives of Roland and Oliver is only the first kindly act on the part of Floripas. When she hears them moaning in prison, she suggests to her governess that they secretly give the two knights food and drink. Maragounde, the governess, says that such an act would be madness; the Sultan has given orders that the prisoners are not to be fed. But

> Floripe by thought hir on a gyle
> And cleped Maragounde anoon right,
> To the wyndowe to come a while
>
> * * *
>
> Maragounde lokede oute, Floripe come nere,
> And shofed hire oute into the flode.
> "Go there," she seide; "The devel the spede!
> My counsail shaltowe never biwry."[4]

Nor is the murder of her governess the end of her violence. When the jailer refuses her permission to visit the prisoners, and starts to tell her father, she beats out his brains with the "keye cloge." Then she tells her father she caught the jailer feeding the prisoners and killed him with a mace. The Sultan thereupon decides that she is the very person to have charge of the prisoners and gives her "the warde."

She and her maidens take the prisoners to her tower and entertain them royally. Meanwhile the other ten Peers fall into Laban's hands and are likewise saved by the sly and treacherous counsel of Floripas. All goes well in Floripas' tower until King Lucafere of Baldas calls on the company one evening, and the Twelve Peers entertain themselves, and Floripas, by toasting him on the fire "Till he were rosted to colis ilkadele."[5] Realizing that her father may miss such an important person as Lucafere, Floripas advises the Peers to attack the Sultan and his knights at supper.

The attack is successful, but the Sultan escapes, and at last even he realizes that Floripas is a traitor. He attacks the Peers in her tower. Floripas not only gives advice on the manner of conducting the defense, but she and her maidens bring rocks for the Peers to throw on the heads of her father and his men Moreover, it was not love for either Roland or Oliver which has caused her to befriend them. When the other Peers arrive she declares her love for Guy of Burgundy,

and with the help of Roland and Oliver, she persuades him to accept her as his betrothed, promising that she will become a Christian.

At the end of the story it is Ferumbras, the Sultan's other child, who decides that it is useless to try to convert Laban, and it is he who first voices the opinion that the Sultan must be executed. The reason for the cruelty of the Sultan's two children is quite obvious. In the romances there are two sides: the "good" or Christian side, and the "bad" or Saracen side. Once Floripas and Ferumbras had joined the "good" side, they had to become implacable enemies of the Sultan. There was no question of filial duty or filial love; one was either a Saracen or a Christian, and that was all there was to it. There is not any other moral standard for the characters.

Naturally, I am not going to suggest that we consider all the characters in *The Merchant of Venice* by the same standard of moral values that we find in *The Sultan of Babylon.* Brilliant scholars have held, and will continue to hold, conflicting opinions as to Shakspere's attitude toward Shylock, Bassanio, Portia, and the other chief characters. But I wonder if too much has not been made of Jessica. If one looks at the Furness Variorum edition of *The Merchant of Venice,*[6] he will see that the attitude toward Jessica is almost universally unfavorable.[7] She had no business to steal her father's money and waste it in riotous living, and then join with his enemies. Giles even says: "Well, as to her turning Christian, I view the matter as honest Gobbo did; it merely increased the number of pork-eaters."[8]

People are fond of contrasting Jessica with Marlowe's Abigail. Abigail was loyal to her father until Barabas showed that he cared nothing for her feelings; he loved only himself, and he hated all Christians. Even when she betrayed his crime at the last, she did it in the Confessional, reminding her confessor at the time that the secrets of the Confessional are sacred.

But is Jessica as important a character as Abigail? Why did Shakspere introduce her? How did the Elizabethans regard her action in eloping with a Christian and stealing her father's money? She obviously has no very important part in the play. Shylock suffers many indignities at the hands of the Christians, and is it not merely the crowning one to steal his daughter and his ducats? Besides, this play

is a comedy, and in my opinion no Elizabethan was going to worry about Jessica's filial duty. Like Floripas and Ferumbras and dozens of other medieval heathens she turned Christian, and that was obviously, and conventionally, the best possible thing she could do.

Indeed, if one looks at the play from the medieval point of view, Shylock himself benefitted greatly from the whole affair. After all, he was not executed, as he so richly deserved to be, but baptized; his soul was saved whether he would or no. And Jessica had nothing in particular against her father; she was in love with Lorenzo and she turned Christian for him. She could no more live with her father after that than could Floripas, Nicolette, or dozens of other medieval heroines. As J. E. Wells says of Floripas:

> The naive acceptance of the treason of Floripas to her father and her faith, and her murder of her governess and the jailer, all for the sake of the Christians, is representative of the attitude of medieval romances toward Saracen maidens. No impropriety was perceived in such demonstrations of conversion to Christianity.[9]

The objection may well be raised that Shakspere was not writing a medieval romance with Christians arrayed against Saracens. That is true enough, but neither is Jessica the crude heroine that Floripas is. She is a beautiful girl in love with one of Bassanio's friends. Moreover, although *The Merchant of Venice* is not a romance, it has in common with the romance the axiom that it is better to be Christian than non-Christian. Once such an axiom is recognized, Jessica is no problem at all.

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[1]"Medieval Prototypes of Lorenzo and Jessica," *MLN,* XLIV (1929), 227-32.
[2]*Ibid.,* p. 228.
[3]Ed. by E. Hausknect, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, XXXVIII (1891).
[4]*Loc. cit.* pp. 45-46.
[5]*Ibid.,* p. 58.
[6]Philadelphia, 1895.
[7]pp. 443-44.
[8]*Ibid.*
[9]*Manual of the Writings in Middle English,* New Haven: Yale Press, 1928, p. 8.

SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1947)

Compiled by

SAMUEL A. & DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which I thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1947 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed:

A	—Anglia (Halle)	CM	—Cornhill Magazine (London)
Amer.	—American	comp.	—compiler
Archiv	—Archiv f. das Studium der neueren Sprachen (Braunschweig)	CR	—Contemporary Review
		CS	—Cahier du Sud (Paris)
Ba	—Baconiana	CUP	—Cambridge University Press
B	—Bulletin	CW	—Catholic World
bib.	—bibliography	Diss.	—Dissertation
b.s.	—broadside	ed.	—editor
Cambr.	—Cambridge	edn.	—edition
Col UP	—Columbia Univ. Press (N. Y.)	EdR	—Edinburgh Review
		EJ	—English Journal

The editor wishes to acknowledge the cooperation of Mr. William B. White in the editing of the 1947 Bibliography.

ELH —Journal of English Literary History (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md.)

Eliz'n —Elizabethan

ER —English Review (London)

facs. —facsimile

FR —Fortnightly Review

GR —Germanic Review (N. Y.)

GRM —Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift (Heidelberg)

HLQ —Huntington Library Quarterly

HUP —Harvard University Press (Cambridge, Mass.)

ils, illusts. —illustrations

J —Journal

Jb —Jahrbuch

JEGP —Journal of English and Germanic Philology (Urbana, Ill.)

Lit. Dig. —Literary Digest (N. Y.)

Ln —London

M —Magazine

MLN —Modern Language Notes (Baltimore, Md.)

MLQ —Modern Language Quarterly

MLR —Modern Language Review (Cambridge, Mass.)

Mo —Monthly

MP —Modern Philology

MSR —Malone Society Reprints (London)

MS Manuscript

NQ —Notes and Queries (London)

NY —New York, N. Y.

OUP —Oxford University Press, American Branch, N. Y. City

P —Press

pl —plate

PMLA —Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America (Baltimore, Md.)

ports —portraits

p.p. —privately printed

PQ —Philological Quarterly (Iowa City, Ia.)

Proc. —Proceedings

Q —Quarterly

QQ —Queen's Quarterly (Kingston, Ont.)

R —Review, Revue

RAA —Revue Anglo-Américaine (Paris)

Repr. —Reprinted

RES —Review of English Studies (London)

S —Shakespeare, Shakspere

SAB —Shakespeare Association Bulletin, N. Y.

SJ —Shakespeare Jahrbuch (Leipzig)

Sn —Shakespearean, Shaksperian

SP —Studies in Philology (Chapel Hill, N. C.)

TAM —Theatre Arts Monthly (N. Y.)

TBR —Times Book Review (N. Y.)

TLS —Times Literary Supplement (London)

TR —Transactions

tr. —translator

U —University

UP —University Press

Zeit —Zeitschrift für

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1. Sir Henry Irving and his art of acting [MS thesis]—D:V. Forsythe.—CU, pp. 76.

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2. *Alias Wm. Sh?*—C. W. Sylees.—Ln: pp. 222, 153. (See Tribune, July 25, p. 15).

BACON, FRANCIS

3. F. B. & Guicciardini.—V. Luciani.—PMLA, 62: 96-113, Mar.

4. The 'ABC' of a Bacon concordance.—A. Constance.—Ba, 31: 39-41, Jan.

5. F. B.'s tutors.—S. G. Thomas.—TLS, p. 51, Jan. 25.

6. The 2 deaths of F. B.—M: Sennet.—Ba, 31: 179-84 & 206, 2 parts, Oct.

7. The influence of F. B. on modern thought.—C. Trew.—Ba, 31: 209-13, Oct.

8. F. B. on reincarnation.—J. Arther.—Ba, 31: 187-91, Oct.

9. F. B.'s monument.—D. G. Moore.—NQ, 192: 345, Aug. 9.

10. Baconian men.—TLS, Mar. 29, p. 141.

11. F. B.'s tragic year.—'Historicus.'—Ba, 31: 69-76, Apr.

12. F. B. as educator.— R. J. W. Gentry.—Ba, 31: 77-86, Apr.

13. F. B.'s lost Atlantis.—J. Arther.—Ba, 31: 129-34, July.

14. F. B. & the Cooke family.—R. L. Eagle.—Ba, 31: 139-42, July, pl.

BACON - SH - QUESTION

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17. Where are the Shakespeare manuscripts?—E. D. Johnson.—Ba, 31: 106-10, Apr.

18. An Oxfordian on the Bacon cyphers.—H. Bond.—Ba, 31: 152-58, July.

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22. L. B. Wallis's *B & F.*—TLS, Sept. 6, p. 448.

23. 'Skiff' in *Rollo.*—P. Simpson.—TLS, Aug. 2, p. 391.

24. ————R. F. Rattray.—TLS, Aug. 9, p. 403.

BIBLE

25. Sh's Bible.—T. W. Baldwin; P. Alexander.—TLS, Jan. 18, p. 37.

26. ————TLS, Jan. 11, p. 23.

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30. *The Foreign Sources of Sh's Works: An Annotated Bibliography . . . Together with Lists of Translations Available to Sh.*—S: Guttman.—NY: King's Crown P, pp. xxii+168, $2.75.

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33. Was Sh educated? (Pt. 2)—W. G. C. Gundry.—Ba, 31: 13-21, Jan.

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37. Sh retrouvé. — A: Foerster. — Paru, Aug., pp. 58-59. (See TLS, July 12, p. 352.)

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41. *A Giant's Strength* — U. Sinclair—*MM,* II, ii, 108.

42. *This Happy Breed.*—N. Coward.—*R2,* II, i, 45.

43. *Full Circle.*—R. Hoff.—*KL,* V, vi, 174.

44. *Present Laughter.*—N. Coward.—*TN,* II, iii, 49.

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46. *The Sling & the Arrow.*—S. Ingstran.—*H,* III, i, 58.

47. *What Is a Man?*—R. R. Wicks.—*H,* II, ii, 316.

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